241 Direct hiring of implements from a contractor as against 30.
•494 exchange of labour between farmers is becoming increasingly common, while a recent development has been the tractor co-operative in which a number of farmers share a cultivator or tractor which they own in common.

MECHANIZATION

178 The first large tractors made their appearance in Malta
407 in the 1930s (Case XV, XXII) but "at that time there was a general feeling against the use of such machines on the land and it was about five years before their value was acknowledged and suspicions overcome"[12]. One of the earliest [427] tractor-hire businesses (Case XV) began in 1935 and for a [422] decade there were comparatively few competitors. Since the 1939-45 War however, the number of farmers and others owning agricultural tractos and mechanized implements[24] has increased to about thirty in Malta[25] and some twelve in Gozo (1957). A sample survey of these tractor operators[26], made in 1957, revealed that the number of such machines is still increasing but the work available for them is decreasing. This is clear from a consideration of the points raised in Cases XV to XII (Section 6, Part 2).

The main points emerging were

(a) There are too many large tractors for the work available. In some cases, Government control was recommended (Case XVI), while in Gozo it appeared the contractors had themselves limited their own spheres of operation by agreement (Case XXII).

(b) The great increase in the number of hand-operated rotary cultivators was fast putting the large tractors out of business for two reasons

(i) the machines are small, more manoeuvrable in tiny fields and can be used during the greater part of the year - even in wet weather,

(ii) costing only some few hundred pounds they can [654] be bought by large numbers of individual farmers - especially since low-interest loans are now available from the Government.

(c) The limited area of land suitable for working with a deep-plow in the Islands. Many fields are too small or too inaccessible for such big machinery - though they can comfortably accommodate the small rotary cultivators.

(d) The exclusion of tracked vehicles from public highways (unless 'shod' or moved by lorry) irritates the contractors who frequently have to travel long distances between asignments (Case - XVII).

407 Many of the large tractor plowing concerns described
472 above are run by two or more men, often brothers, in partner-
474 ship. A much more recent development of this kind has been the 'tractor co-operative' in which a much larger number of farmers share the use and expenses of a cultivator of tractor. By the end of 1958 one such co-operative had been established in Mellieha in Malta, and another at Gharb, in Gozo.

407 Those two projects are attempts which, if successful,
474 may be followed by the setting up of other similar
648 co-operatives. Two powerful hand cultivators were donated by C.A.R.E.[27], the American relief organization, to a committee of farmers in Mellieha and two more to a similar group in Gharb. In each village farmers wishing to join
[427] the co-operative paid a fee of some £2 after which they were entitled to hire the machine at a fraction of the prevailing commercial hire cost. In Gharb this was 10/- an hour where other private tractor operators were demanding 17/-. The C.A.R.E. gifts of tractors removed the need for the farmer himself to invest capital in something novel. He stood only to gain and not to lose and there was, consequently, fierce competition for the limited membership of the co-operative. Maintainance of the machines was in each case left to a full-time operator, while the running of the co-operative was in the hands of an executive committee of some half dozen farmers in each case who were elected from among the members concerned. This kind of organization in farm work is quite new to the Maltese farmer who has previously been incapable of uniting to any degree, whether in a marketing co-operative or farmers' union (Section 4). If the Mellieha and Gharb projects prove successful the principle of such co-operation may well extend to other branches of agriculture. The resulting financial economies would considerably strengthen the farmer's position.

407 A co-operative of any sort is, however, a somewhat
474 unknown quantity among a largely illiterate and conservative farming population not far removed from traditional independent subsistence. Moreover, until recently, mechanical skill has been confined to the small number of farmers operating tractors themselves. In the Gharb co-operative only two men were available who could in fact operate the machines at all.

Although it is too early to judge the efficacy of this kind of co-operative in Malta its initial success would suggest that it has a future. The answer to the problem of shortage of labour discussed earlier in this section may then well be a combination of the widespread owner-use of one or other of the small rotary cultivators on the market along

407 with the setting up of co-operatives which would make
474 available to the farmer the services of a heavy tractor and deep-plow on hire as required and would enable the very small-scale farmer and the part-timer to hire the smaller type of cultivating machine at low cost in cases where he does not wish or cannot afford to purchase his own cultivator.

SUBSIDY and GUARANTEE

435 During the 1939-45 War the Maltese Government offered
241 farmers in the Islands very high guaranteed prices for
654 produce handed in to the collection centres in each district. Farmers enjoyed for a brief period prosperity they had never known before and were able to build up often considerable financial reserves (Cases VI, XII).

434 Following this precedent the farmer today, under quite
435 different conditions of competition from abroad, demands
241 a guaranteed income for the work he expends on crop and
654 milk production. He insists that responsibility for this subsidy and guarantee falls, as in war-time siege years, on "Il-Gvern", the Government. He overlooks the fact that his produce cannot in many cases hope to compete with foreign goods on price. He is in fact not concerned as to who buys his produce so long as "Il-Gvern" organizes its export and marketing and gives him a substantial return.

654 The Government, for its part, realizes the difficulties which the farmer in Malta and Gozo has to face and is thus confronted with a choice of policy. Should it favour the consuming Maltese public by giving them the cheapest possible foodstuffs (which would often mean imported goods rather than Maltese home produce) or should it protect the farmer by subsidizing his profit and guaranteeing his sales - at least in part? Official policy has of recent years tended to do both these things. The ration of basic commodities (bread, sugar, farinaceous paste, and butter) allows everyone in the Islands to obtain a part of the food they consume at low, subsidized prices, over and above which they are at liberty to buy on the open market.

The aid-to-farming programme is still more recent and is by no means yet old enough for all its ramifications and possibilities to be clear. So far it has included four main types of help to agriculture.

234 (a) First there is the guaranteed price to herdsmen
654 for milk (of adequate fat content) supplied to the M.M.U. This varies slightly with season and there is a difference of a few pence between cows' and goats' milk. The average of some 5/- or 6/- per gallon to the producer amounts to some 8d per pint produced. Now the M.M.U. sells

6:Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

654 herdsman to produce a new over-grown dairy industry
426 (v. figures of milk purchases and surpluses earlier in this
454 Section).

Similar problems arise from the way in which the loans have helped farmers to acquire machinery for working their fields. As regards the small rotary cultivators this may be to the good but the position of the larger type of tractor is much more doubtful (v. Section 2), and little advisory control is at present being exercised.

UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVES

829 The farmers' attitude to officialdom and 'Gvern' has
467 been characterized by suspicion and doubt. But certainly no less strained have been relations between one farmer and another. An 'every man for himself' attitude has emerged on the administrative side of farming in the Islands, though not at the level of small-scale economic
[474] co-operation (Section 2). The main outcome of this has been that Unions of farmers have had only a limited appeal and even marketing Co-operatives have only recently assumed
[747] any importance. The very recent tractor co-operatives (Section 2) are proving successful but would probably not have begun without free donations of equipment by C.A.R.E.[29].

A common attitude met among all types of farmers in the Islands is that "Unions can do nothing for the farmer". At present there are two but, even together, they account for a very small part of the farming population and certainly have little effect on policy or on the organization of the farming industry. One of the two Unions was founded thirty years ago but the entire administration appears to be in the hands of one man and the farmers themselves take no part in it. In 1956 a faction within the Union broke away and registered a second Union but this too has been supported by a very small number of individuals[43]. The fear at all times is that someone with education and ambitions will make use of such a Union for his own good and have no concern for the welfare of the farmers. Too ignorant and illiterate to speak for himself the farmer believes he is surrounded by treachery on all sides and consequently withdraws from all combined effort. He is still enough a peasant at heart to believe that his own interests can best be served by he himself maintaining strict independence in his farming. This emerges throughout the projects of official help to the farming community outlined above.

829 It has also precluded the development of a substantial
474 co-operative movement in agricultural marketing and trading.

829 474 The details of the Co-operatives as they do exist merit a more detailed mention since it is likely that they will grow in importance in the future and concern a rather larger proportion of the farming population than at present.

474 In October, 1957, there were ten co-operatives in Malta concerned with the marketing of agricultural produce: Rabat (171 members), Żabbar (86), Dingli (78), Siġġiewi (59), St. Paul's Bay (52), Żebbuġ (37), Mellieħa (33), Qormi (23). Gudja (22), and Mġarr (16). All but two of these were officially registered in 1947[44]. The ten societies are independent but have delegate representation in an eleventh body, the Farmers' Central Co-operative. In addition, there were in 1957 two other Co-operatives in Malta, one with only the minimum twelve members who clung to their complete independence, and the Co-operative Stores Malta with 80 members, the sole consumers' society. Of the four Co-operatives in Gozo at the time only one had any capital or was able to organize a market centre for Gozo farmers. All four were concerned with the distribution of fodder.

474 829 The two features of the Co-operative movement important in the present discussion are (i) the very small number of farmers who will have anything to do with it, and (ii) the fact that the movement was initiated not by farmers but by the Government, whose official policy is now to encourage the development of both consumer and producer co-operatives in the Islands[44].

The Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Ħalib) is an independent and privately run body to be distinguished from the official Milk Marketing Undertaking. (M.M.U.). The organization of the Company appears to depend entirely on one man who, as secretary and manager, claims to present the milk producers' grievances to the M.M.U. authorities. Numbers of herdsmen regard the Company as able to secure for them more favourable selling conditions than they could obtain as individuals. Being mostly illiterate they feel unable to speak for themselves on such matters and yet are not inclined to support one or other of the Unions. How the producer does in fact benefit from membership of the Company is not in fact clear and some at least of its status in their eyes appears to depend on the personality of the secretary-manager[45].

474 467 829 Whatever future developments the farming Unions and Co-operatives may produce it is clear that at present only a small part of the farming population is concerned in either. Of the 5,635 full-time farmers in Malta in 1957 (B/164) only 589, or some 10.5% were members of the eleven producer co-operatives in the Island[46]. Fewer than one

829 474 467 in three of the 7,813 full-time farmers in both Islands at the time were even nominal members of either Union, one of which could claim to represent 25% of the farming population and the other only 6%[43].

829 467 As long as the farmers' Unions continue to represent only a minority of producers and to be divided among themselves there is little likelihood of their being able to benefit those in the industry. But the writer maintains that the grievances of the farmer today are not of the kind in which Union action could effect fundamental improvements because the position of the industry at present and at least in the immediate future depends on a policy of official benevolence. More precisely, this includes the range of financial, material and advisory assistance discussed above.

829 474 The farmer does however stand to make real gains from an efficient and popular co-operative movement. The present limited appeal of the co-operative system is a major drawback. In his interim report on the attitudes of the farming community, Fr. Cirillo observes that "the indifference and open hostility of the majority of farmers towards co-operatives can be partially explained by the fact that they are not able to give farmers the services which are expected of them....they are not in a position to operate as true marketing societies" (B/387, p.18). Fr. Cirillo also points to the mistrust of local co-operative organizers on the part of many farmers who have, moreover, never completely overcome their suspicion of the Government initiative behind the movement.

829 474 442 [426] It is clear that the system of marketing produce is the main weakness at present. Up to now most farmers have marketed their produce through a pitkal. This pitkal is a selling middleman who maintains a stall at one of the pitkali[1] centres at each of which is a Government-appointed clerk. The pitkal has also served a secondary function as a money lender to farmers who regularly deal with him. Fr. Cirillo observes that "many farmers would not join a co-operative society because of the fear that they might lose their pitkal's friendship" and "the farmer's dependence on the pitkal makes him look at the pitkal with respect" (B/387, pp.17-18). In 1957 it was proposed to centralize the marketing of produce through a single centre for the whole Island (B/253), but at least one of the farmers' Unions was quick to announce its opposition to the plan (B/54 - 11.6.1957, p.4). As on many parallel occasions the farmer was here faced with a choice:- between trusting the Union or 'Il-Gvern'. In most cases he would not venture to make his own decision on the matter.

matter. [P.65]

While the farmer does not favour the co-operative movement at present he is generally disatisfied also with the pitkal system and complains of the excessive profits being made by the pitkal, the sensal (a broker and transporter of produce) and the retailer. Very few do however venture to evade these middlemen completely by selling their produce directly to the consumer (B/387, p.17). This is probably the result in part of shortage of labour but in part also a reflection of the 'respect' in which the pitkal is held. The farmer is characteristically suspicious of any change in such a long-established part of his farming, even though he is loud with complaints of it.

The Government plan to centralize marketing on the one hand and to encourage the co-operative movement in the selling of produce on the other will not succeed without a great deal of patient education of the farmer supplemented by material incentives such as subsidies and other assistance already given in other aspects of agricultural development. The most successful co-operatives in Maltese farming to date are probably the two tractor co-operatives founded with the initiative and grant of free equipment by C.A.R.E. (Section 2). Here the farmer has seen a clear financial saving in plowing costs with no capital outlay on his part. He must similarly be persuaded that centralization and co-operatives in marketing would be to his advantage. Not only the farmers themselves but the consumers also would stand to benefit from a streamlining of marketing with grading and better packing and presentation of produce, while the improvements in Malta's position as an exporter of agricultural produce would fully justify the effort involved (B/253)[42].

YOUTH AND FARMING

In their pioneer investigation into the attitudes of the Maltese farmer Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team stressed the crucial position of the younger generation in agriculture in the Islands (B/387). The present writer concurs with their views and considers the present retreat from farm and village as the most urgent problem in the industry. Something of the technical and economic background to this trend has been seen in Sections 2 and 3, but the social factors involved are no less important.

The fundamental contrast in outlook between the younger and older generations of the farming community today is that in the case of the older generation "with meagre opportunities in other occupations, and often

*159 24 (ii) Seed - Keeps grain and seed-potatoes back from harvest - usually least saleable.
- Buys sulla seed.

*159 231 (iii) Livestock - Breeds goats from own herd and has no wish to try breeding experiments.
Replacement rate c.5 per annum.
- Feeding - no feeding programme and relies mainly on bulk green and dried fodder including rough grazing on wasteland and 6-7 bundles a day of 'haxix' - weedy roadside and wasteland vegetation.

H. General.

*159 157 A conservative Maltese goats milk producer. More suspicious than most and not prepared to give much financial information. He has no idea of costs or profit and is only interested in sustained high milk prices.

CASE IV : Wistin (A large-scale goats' milk producer with some land.)

*159 234 474 Like Case III, Wistin is a goat herder with fields supplying fodder for the animals together with some food items for the family. His herd is however much larger and in mid-1957, included ninety animals. He began goat herding with a few goats many years ago but the biggest increases have been in the past few years of guaranteed milk sales to the M.M.U. Now he aims primarily at profit from milk and is very much less concerned with rearing kids. He is a member of the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) which, he believes, stands for the 'rights' of the milk-producing herdsmen. The Company demands improvements in the system including a higher price to the producer in the flush production period. It can scarcely be said to argue from strength, in view of the present market situation heavily distorted in favour of the milk-producer by Government policy.

*159 234 461 [656] The village became a "Closed Area" in 1955. This meant that Wistin could no longer sell unpasteurized milk from door to door - previously there had been some seven or eight milk-sellers like him in the village. Since 1955 he has been concentrating on his goats and on fodder production. He says he "likes goats". Certainly milking, cleaning and grazing the animals takes the greater part of every day (as in Case II, Wistin takes out his goats to graze and exercise practically every afternoon of the year). He is proud of his herd and "would feel ashamed to appear at the M.M.U. collection depot without a reasonable amount of milk for sale". In the flush summer season this is 20 gallons [433] or more but drops considerably in the winter. Wistin [434] strives to keep the milk production as steady as possibly however throughout the year because a steady supply of milk to the M.M.U. means a steady income for his family. He himself works on his fields only "when some spare time is

*159 461 24 465

000 authorities each year.

*159 ● 494 234 434 [432] Gaetu has been a member of the Malta Milk Company since its foundation in 1949 and appears to attribute some of the present benefits enjoyed by the milk producer to the work of the Company on behalf of the member herdsmen. In January, 1958, he was selling some 3½ gallons of cows' milk and 5 gallons goats' milk to the M.M.U. but was also selling some privately each day, notably 12/- or 13/- worth to a nunnery "where my grandfather used to sell milk before me". Both his grandfather and father were herdsmen with goats but it was not until after the 1939-45 War that Gaetu went in for cows. He acknowledges saving some £1200 as a result of [454] the War and says that most of this money went on the establishment of his herd of cows, together with improvements to the accommodation for the animals.

*159 423 234 [429] Gaetu owns the house, which is several centuries old, and the farm buildings and rents the adjacent exercise yards from the Government. He has been keen to develop his own property since the war in order to qualify for the necessary permit from the sanitary authorities to keep his now greater number of animals. The Plan given in the Summary of this Case shows how the activity of both family and farm is concentrated in a small and compact cluster of buildings and rooms within the built-up area of the village. This is typical of the majority of farm units based on livestock in the Islands (v.Cases I & IV) but contrasts with some (v.Case II) in which the animals have to be housed at some distance from the family living quarters, a much less satisfactory position for the herdsmen concerned.

*159 342 351 423 The focus of domestic activity in Gaetu's household is the tiny yard, some fifteen feet square. Doorways lead off to the ground floor living rooms, to the goat shed and cattle byres and, through a large passage-cum-storage room, to the narrow alley way which links the house to the street. From the yard steps lead down to a cellar used for fodder storage and another flight leads up to the first-floor store-rooms above the kitchen and living room. A further staircase from inside the entrance room gives access to the first-floor extra bedroom. Gaetu's premises are typical with their intensive use of available space and maximum building development on the portion owned by the farmer himself but atypical in that he has been fortunate enough to acquire the adjacent exercise ground and small patch of cultivable soil with a reasonable prospect of continued rented tenure (v.Map 8).

*159 24 31 The larger pieces of ground are put to potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes (qaqoċċ), marrows (qargħa bagħli), and a variety of vegetables. Fig, pomegranate and other trees fill the corners and edges of fields and a tomato seed-bed and a hen-house also manage to find space in odd corners. [406] Two machine-driven pumps [343] and a few tiny storage and shelter rooms complete the scene. The block of fields is in a small sheltered [134] valley on the east coast of the Island and contains clay soils tending to be heavy, especially in wet weather.

*159 241 433 434 829 [464] Pietru's irrigable fields are clearly the focus of his interest and attention. He observes that they bring in a greater profit per man/day of effort than do the dry fields which he prefers to leave to the wife and children to cultivate on a more casual basis. Nevertheless Pietru is not able to make a profitable concern of his farm despite his own heavy working schedule and the full-time assistance of at least two teenage children. In fact he is poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E.[27] food distributions. He is however content with farming as an occupation and critical only of the lack of adequate remuneration. His attitude is to 'make the most' of his farm within current limitations. He was a [474] founder member of a C.A.R.E. sponsored tractor co-operative (Section 2) although he admits that when the project was first suggested he was opposed to it on the grounds of rather having the money than letting the Government get it. This belief that the Government is behind everything is characteristic (Section 4). C.A.R.E. is of course an independent organization distributing American surplus food and equipment.

*159 178 241 Thus Pietru's son who works full-time with his father is faced with his father's industry and enthusiasm for farming on the one hand but he can see for himself the apparent impossibility of achieving anything above low living standards. Whether he will join the trek away from farming is not yet clear. His educational standard is lower than is the case among many of his generation and it may be that he will have difficulty in finding employment outside farming.

If Pietru can improve the efficiency and profitabily of his farm (by using better suited crops, new methods and new equipment with Government financial and advisory assistance) his son might be pursuaded to stay in it. The problem of Maltese farming today is that there are very few young men in the farming industry who show as much inclination to [426] stay on the land. The Government has been keen to assist [654] the full-time farmer with loans and other help in an effort to encourage him to stay on the land and to develop agriculture to the full but it has done comparatively little for the young men in farming who are, in the long term view at least, the more important. If they cannot be induced to stay in farming the industry would appear to be doomed.

CASE XI : Summary.

*159 (An arable farmer mainly concerned with irrigated produce.)

A. Land.

423 427 (i) 14 tmien irrigated land in single block of five fields in Mallieha District. 2 tmien freehold.

(ii) c.8 tmien dry land in single block of 3 fields in Qawra District.

(iii) 45 tmien in single block (of which 37 wasteland) in Bajda Ridge area.

(iv) c.6 tmien in 21 scattered field plots in Marfa.

These lands lie on the periphery of a triangle with sides measuring 4½ miles X 2 X 2 miles. Leased land is held in a variety of ways e.g. some is held on an annual lease at a rate of 15/- a tomna, other is held in emphyteusis from the Government. Of the latter, a composition fee of £200 replaced as annual rental for the last 45 years of a 99 year lease for 45 tmien. For the rest a peppercorn rent of c.2/- a tmien per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation. With parcels of land so dispersed and so variable in quality great variations in land use may be observed.

(i) The irrigated land carries potatoes, tomatoes, artichokes, a variety of pumpkins and marrows and many other types of vegetables. Tree crops are raised on the plot boundaries. Crop list: Potatoes, Tomatoes, Artichokes, Cucumbers, Marrows, Pumpkins and Water Melons, Sulla, Black and White Vetches, Turnips, Vines, Celery, Endives, Onions, Maize, Kohl Rabi, Carrots, Garlic, Figs, Pomegranates, Apricots and Peaches.

(ii) The unirrigated land ranges from patch cultivation of cereals, beans and peaches on Bajda Ridge to vines, cereals and vetches in the other districts. These parcels get only c.60 man-days work each year. This land although neglected is held, partly because of the low-rent emphyteutical leases, partly to supply small amounts of fodder and forages for the few livestock.

*159 231 C. Livestock. During 1957/1958 2 heifer calves. Cattle are only kept for rearing between ages of c.3 and c.18 months, and for supplying dung. 4 goats (2 ewes and 2 kids) and 3 sheep kept for supplying domestic milk and cheese needs. No work animals ('bejjem tax-xoghol').

*159 D. Capital.

[423] [435] [454] [406]
- 2 tmien freehold irrigated land valued at £200 and freehold house in the village.
- No liquid reserves other than petty cash, according to statement made to C.A.R.E. Estimated possible total less than £100.
- Equipment. No machinery other than local tools and a fixed diesel water-pump. Not averse to mechanization but suspicious of credit terms.

E. Labour.

[464]
- Family Labour of one adult son and occasional work from wife and from four other children. Mutual aid arrangement with brother-in-law.

[474] [241]
- A member of a C.A.R.E. implement co-operative (Section 2) which entitles him to favourable terms for tractor-ploving: shallow-plowing at 10s per tomna and deep-plowing at 20s per tomna. This represents a saving of 5s per tomna in return for a deposit to the Co-operative of £2.

[464]
- Rarely hires labour.

[467]
- An analysis of the daily work schedule based on an original record kept by the farmer's daughter:

000 was taken for granted.

*159 (iii) Reasonably prepared to try new crops if they are proven
178 in his district. Not prepared to accept anything
242 technically as revolutionary as a wheelbarrow mainly on the ground that "it is not used here".

*159 CASE XII : Ċenzu (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

557 Ċenzu is an example of one type of part-time farmer in
241 Malta and Gozo in that his farm is the more important of the
234 two occupations for his livlihood. His work as licensed
[463] village weighman is important both because of the extra income which it brings and on account of the social standing which goes with the office. He is a shrewd and literate man who earlier in his life also engaged in importing and
[454] other business. He was one of the many farmers able to
[362] build up a substantial reserve as a result of the 1939-45
[727] War. The house is spacious and well-appointed by local standards and Ċenzu and his small family enjoy comfortable living conditions. His pre-War premises were damaged during the War and he received some £1800 official compensation to which he added a further £1200. This money was

*159 put towards the new house and towards the costs of building
234 up his present herd of 12 cows, a bull and 10 goats. The
434 milk produced and sold to the M.M.U. provides the basic
241 element of his income but he also grows cash crops for sale. In the 1956/57 winter a third of his crop area was devoted to fodder. This increased to 74% in the following winter but, given a substantial improvement in the prevailing prices for cash crops, it is likely that he would devote more space once again to these and buy in a larger part of the fodder
[432] needed. In 1957 he purchased over £1000 worth of fodder and received about £1350 for milk sold during the same period.

*159 Unlike most farmers he keeps detailed records of his
829 income and expenditure on the farm and animals and on the
474 weighing side of his business, but he remains unwilling to
[451] discuss his revenue with even apparently trusted outsiders. This reticence seems to relate to the traditional independent outlook of the farmer, rather than to any anxiety to hide his accounts from a sense of guilt. He was prepared to join the Malta Milk Company (Il-Kumpanija Maltija tal-Halib) because he saw this as of some benefit to the milk producer in his relations with the M.M.U. authorities. But he has never been a member of a farmers' union and is clearly not interested in them although he thinks "A union might be a good idea". He shares the typical failure to appreciate the rôle of an efficient Union. Neither is he interested in joining a producers' Co-operative (Section 4).

000 As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the